344 177 [668] was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (patalmi m¢gi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that [425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

● 422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual [782] requirement to destroy the goods (see p.47). Also individuals who infringed upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and [685] other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had [431] made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 423 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

Pinenut picking grounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use.

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification.

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands.

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles.

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex.

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

also a measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is no doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him."

Instruments and criteria of performance

Musical instruments of the Washo Peyote singers include rattle and drum; the construction and materials used are as important to the musician as the special skills exerted in playing. The most adroit drummer or rattler feels he has done poorly if he is not satisfied with the qualities of his instrument; he is usually most confident if he has made the drum and rattle himself or if they have been made by a Peyotist he admires. Some of the most highly prized rattles are relatively old and have been passed from owner to owner, each of whom knows the history of its ownership.

The four important elements of the rattle are the gourd, stones, tuft, and handle. The gourd should be perfectly pear-shaped and not too large; the older and more used it is, the better, for this toughens and thins the shell which in turn improves the sound. New gourds are often boiled in oil and lined with pine pitch in an effort to speed this desired effect.

Considerable care and ingenuity is exercised in finding materials which will produce the proper sound inside the gourd; the number of "stones" should always be seven. White flint, which is found in the area and which does not break or wear in the gourd, is used by some singers; it is said to give a high-pitched soft rattle. Other musicians use bits of granite, quartz crystal, hollow brass balls from key chains, or small brass nuts (hardware).

The tuft is the "crown" of the rattle and must give a special and pleasing effect while the rattle is being shaken. It is symbolic of the tuft of the Peyote button, and also of sunburst or sunrise, associations which are very important in the appreciation of the general effect of any rattle. Material used is most often hair from a horse tail, but it may also be feathers—the comb of a cock pheasant, or hummingbird wing feathers.

The handle of the rattle is usually intricately carved or beaded, and a fine handle unscrews into two parts so that the rattle can be folded and packed into a small paraphernalia kit. The beadwork or carving symbolizes various aspects of Peyote ideology; for example, bands of color from bottom to top indicate evening, midnight, daybreak, and sunlight, thus concurring with the steps in Peyote ritual. The mounting of the gourd on the handle is considered extremely important; it must be mounted in such a way that the gourd touches the handle only where the pointed end of the latter fits tightly through the tufted top of the gourd. To achieve this ideal, a shell or silver fitting is placed at the bottom of the gourd; this retains the stones but at the same time allows a free space between fitting and gourd. If touching does occur, the rattle "sounds flat."

In performance it is the singer who holds the rattle, and each has some special rhythmic devices of his own which partly identify his playing. Methods of performance, or criteria as to the importance of rattling, are not highly verbalized among the Washo; responses range from, "the rattle is used to keep

"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows."

One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore.[*] The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

[*] [footnote appears on p. 93 --Analyst]

However, most men who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that the school now serves Indians of many tribes.

In the past and today, local white folklore holds that Washo are inexpert horsemen and cannot learn to be cowboys. I can neither confirm nor deny this opinion, because I failed to see a single Washo on horseback during my visit. One man, biologically if not culturally a Washo, owns a string of pack and riding horses which he rents to hunters for whom he serves as guide. However, this occupation appears to be one of the reasons other Washo feel he has "gone on the white man's road."

One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rabbits a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his own.

Older informants recall that some Washo were hired as riders to accompany cattle herds to the railhead or into high range. It is significant that they mention specifically that only this temporary type of herding job was available and make it clear that no Washo became a year-round cowboy.

It appears clear from statements of informants that Washo quickly adopted the automobile and abandoned wagons and teams. As Cook points out, the automobile gave back to the pedestrian Indian a mobility he had lost during the interval between the appearance of the whites and the development of the automobile (Cook, 1941, 84). I feel that this change took place because the Washo had never made the adjustments necessary to maintain horses or other livestock efficiently, and therefore welcomed the automobile, which ceased to make demands on its owner's time and attention as soon as he turned off the ignition and got out. Moreover the appearance of the railroad within a few years after the arrival of the whites obviated the need for the horse for long-distance travel. Early day railroad "public relations" policy permitted Indians throughout the West to ride without charge. In return, the Indians often warned railroaders of broken track, washouts, and other obstructions.